

ABSTRACT

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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The Impact of Socialization on the Political Participation of Women in the American Political System

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The purpose of this study is to explore the extent to which political socialization agents influence the role that women participate in the American Political Process. These agents include the family, the school, peer groups, religious institutions, the mass media, and occupation class and status. In addition, to determine to what degree have women participated in the American Political Process. In an attempt to fulfill these purposes, the political activity of Trailblazers in the American Political System was examined, and compared to current female electives. Also, the traditional views of women, beginning from the late 1960s to the present were examined, to determine if ideal societal roles of women have changed.

Other procedures used included the use of secondary data derived from the U.S Census reports from the late 1960's to the present. Additional data were taken from the

U.S. Board of Elections, the Internet and the 1996 Political Attitudes Survey conducted by the Department of Political Science at Clark Atlanta University.

The results revealed different value systems in society and how they have changed over time. Although women are still far from being equal to that of men, great improvement has been made. Today, women continue to out number men at the polls and are increasingly being elected to political positions. Results also revealed that women were politically active within their, communities, churches, etc., long before gaining the franchise. They were campaign organizers, in attendance at rallies, active demonstrators and even rebellion leaders. Unfortunately, they were not given notoriety for their activism, and consequently, appeared to be less mobile than they truly were.

THE IMPACT OF SOCIALIZATION ON THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF
WOMEN IN THE
AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

A THESIS
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Within the past few years, a variety of research studies have been written detailing the need to develop a frame of reference or a conceptual model to advance normative and empirical explanations, about the participation of women in the American Political System. Ernest Nagel and others have suggested that such an effort would allow social science researchers to discover and to formulate in general terms, the conditions under which African American women become directly involved in the political process, to change the existing structures in which they were previously excluded. The absence of such scholarly research about the participation of women in the American political system as political participants, as political scientists and as political thinkers, can be attributed to the lack of interest, elitism, radical deafness of political science and the attitude of some who refuse to even mention either women or feminism in research on the discipline. The invisibility of women as political participants, as political scientists, and as political thinkers extends to the social science library source as well.¹ Mack Jones offers a different perspective as to the consequences of this inclusion and impact on the black political experience in the United States. He states that:

The dichotomizing of the role of social scientist has not been without consequence for the black community and its struggle for liberation. During the last half decade or so, many young black Social

¹ Rita Mae Kelly, Linda M. Williams and Kimberly Fisher, "Women and Politics: An Assessment", *Women and Politics* 14 (1994): 4.

Scientist, doubtlessly move by arguments such as the ones found in Cruse's Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, have become acutely aware of the extent to which their training in white social science departments by "scientifically orientated" white professors has alienated them from the struggle of their people. Most social scientist are socialized into their particular disciplines without ever raising the important question to which the philosophy of science speaks.

This means that social science inquiry is idiosyncratic to the people being served. Every significant researchable problem occurs within a web of thought or network growing out of a people's anticipation and control needs. This web includes, first, a people's worldview . . . the second part of the web, a set of normative assumptions which summarizes a people's perception of the nature of the good life and the political, economic and cultural forms necessary for its realization. Academic disciplines develop within the context of these two.²

This pattern of using normal assumptions to exclude a body of knowledge about black women and their participation in the political system continues to vary. Wright reveals:

Through most of the 20th century—the period when women first began to organize for the right to have access to the franchise—it was standard fare that agitation on the part of black women for the right to vote, public accommodations, having the right to establish and have credit need not be studied because, there was none or because that which exists, "does not evoke new basic symbols" than those already relied on in American political discourse and justified in other contexts extrinsic to the black political experience.³

Some of these research studies would not mention black women except as objects of theoretical disputes among whites over the atlantic slave trade, chattel slavery, or

²Mack H. Jones, "Scientific Method as a Tool for Improving the Quality of Value Judgments with Particulars" *Review of Black Political Economy* (summer 1977): 17.

³Benjamin F. Wright, "Research in American Political Theory", *APSR* 38 (August 1994): 733-740.

segregation (or States' Rights). "Other studies would refer to this group as a 'problem' in American Democracy and in that sense did provide for more attention to this subject matter."⁴ Yet, such attention was still indirect and did not depend on the primary work of African American women political activists or thinkers.⁵

Much of the scholarly literature which attempts to examine the process by which the average citizen internalizes or incorporates into their own thinking, beliefs, feelings and evaluations about the participation of women in the political process, has historically been atheoretical. Whenever such an effort is undertaken, the researcher tends not to look at the differences between men and women's participation in the election of candidates to office, but instead uses the male point of view as a model to offer explanations as to why these stereotypical role prescriptions offer systematic explanations as to why black people in general refuse to vote. These theories have evolved from the patriarchal structure of our society, in which the dominant group (men) defines acceptable roles for subordinates (women). "The superior role of political men is maintained by the definition of *masculinity* as strong, active, rational, aggressive and authoritarian and *femininity* as submissive, passive, dependent, weak, and masochistic."⁶ These roles are incorporated into the culture by its philosophy, science, social and psychological theory, morality, and law. "The inequality of the roles is obscured by calling them *natural* or *normal* by

⁴ Martin Luther King, *Strides Toward Freedom* (New York: Harper Publishing, 1959), 20.

⁵ James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (New York: Dial, 1963), 1.

⁶ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Battered Women: Issues of Public Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978) 215-218.

training women to be economic, socially and politically dependent upon men in order to elect candidates to public office and to maintain the nuclear family as the basic unit of society.”⁷ I. K. Boverman and others have argued that women are politically socialized into roles in order to make them believe their greatest net worth in life is conditioned by their participation in marriage and motherhood, not politics. If these women adopt these characteristics and role assigned to them, adapts to her husband’s political vocation, personality, selects his choices of candidates and submerges her own role. The author writes:

She will be called *normal* and *feminine*. This was emphasized in the Boverman study in which professional therapists were asked to describe typical male and female behavior and to indicate what is normal adult behavior.⁸

The evolution of the above paradigm has its roots beginning in the early 1970’s when this pattern began to change, because of the persistent critique of the arguments led by women social science researchers about the various articles and books that have been written about women, their politics and subsequently their participation in the American political system. “Most of this research effort, according to Darcy, Welch and Clark, focused on mass political behavior or on the attitudes of women political officeholders rather than why there were not more women in office.”⁹

⁷ Ibid., p. 214

⁸ I.K. Boverman, D. M. Boverman, R. Clarkson, P. Rosenkrantz, and S. Vogel, “Sex Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health”, *Journal of Consulting Psy.* (1964), 48

⁹ R. Darcy, Susan Welch and Janet Clark, *Women, Election, and Representation* (New York: Longman Inc., 1987), preface.

One reason for there being so few women in office, or involved in politics is the result of *socialization*. According to Almond, Powell and Mundt, socialization is defined as the way children are introduced or exposed to the values and attitudes of their society. It may also be what causes boys and girls to respond differently to identical situations. When taken into a toy store for example, the girl may head straight to the doll section, while the boy may head straight for the action figure section. "Although socialization continues throughout adulthood, *political socialization* forms political attitudes."¹⁰ Whether or not one is exposed to politics has a major impact on one's political participation. Most children obtain elementary, but distinctive political attitudes at an early age. Some are taught to shy away from politics, while others are taught to indulge in them. While some of these attitudes will be elaborated revised and revised again as the child develops, others may remain part of the political self throughout the individual's life.

An initial exposure to political socialization is transmitted through children's toys. For example, girl's toys tend to foster femininity and domestication. While toys designed for boys tend to foster masculinity and domination. Toys designed for girls include dolls, make-up, and miniature appliances. Toys designed for boys include miniature cars, super-heroes, and artificial guns. *The American Heritage Dictionary* defines masculinity as pertaining to the male sex; characteristics of or suitable to a man. It is one whom is

¹⁰ A. Gabriel Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr. and Robert J. Mundt, *Comparative Politics: A Theoretical Framework; Chapter 3* (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers Inc., 1993), 45.

strong, brave and manly. Femininity is defined as pertaining to the female sex; characteristics of or suitable to a woman. It is one whom is gentle, nurturing and womanly. Domestication is defined as pertaining to the family or household; fond of home life or house hold affairs. Domination is defined as to control, govern, or rule. Because the political self is always changing, political socialization never really ceases. The exposure to different situations changes the political self. Many of life's most common experiences, such as moving to a new environment, interacting with new groups of people, and changing occupations can effect the political self. The author proclaims:

Because of the **political self**, experiences such as becoming involved in new social groups and roles, moving to another area of the country, and changing social or economic positions may change political attitudes Political socialization can take the form of either *direct* or *indirect*. Socialization is direct when it involves the explicit communication of information, values, or feelings toward politics. Indirect political socialization occurs when political views are inadvertently molded by personal experiences. Indirect political socialization may have particular force in a child's early years The attitudes established during childhood are always being adapted or reinforced as the individual passes through a variety of social experiences.

Political socialization transmits and transforms a nations political culture. A process called cultural transmission, is the way one generation passes on political ideas and beliefs to succeeding generations. It transforms the political culture when it leads the citizens or some of them, to view and experience politics in a different way.¹¹

Political Socialization has transmitted and transformed women into a political underclass. Because of this nation's political culture, women are not shown the same respect as men. A woman involved in politics is labeled as a bitch, lesbian, or worse, if she does her job well. On the other hand, a man in the same profession may get a hardy

¹¹ Ibid., 46

pat on the back, for a job well done. They are not given the same opportunities as men, when seeking political careers. For example, many times women are overlooked for positions they are qualified for, when competing with their male counterparts. The author explains:

Sometimes it is suggested that women do not do as well in winning office because they are less successful in gaining the necessary support. This could inhibit women in two ways. It could prevent women candidates from being elected, and it could discourage potential female candidates from even running. In other words, perhaps women suffer from discrimination in the early stages of recruitment where potential candidates are screened and encouraged and in the campaign stage where candidates are given varying degrees of financial, organizational, and volunteer support by organized groups.¹²

Women's Political Involvement at the Elite Level of Participation

Because many women are socialized to be passive, they lack the knowledge of seeking help, for the financial and moral support of running for office. For this same reason, more women may be reluctant to support other women involved in politics, because they have too been socialized to believe that politics is an unforeseen area for women to participate in as a career, supporter, or otherwise.

"Another example is the fact that, only 10% of the lawmakers in the 103rd Congress are women and the sexual composition of other legislative and judicial bodies is only slightly more representative".¹³ The author reveals:

In 1994, women held fifty-four seats in the 103rd U.S. Congress, seven in the Senate and forty-seven in the House of Representatives. No

¹² R. Darcy, Susan Welch Janet Clark, *Women, Elections, and Representation* (New York: Longman Inc., 1987), 32.

¹³ Ibid.

other Congress has seated as many women. These fifty-four women represent 10% of the five hundred thirty-five available seats; 7% of the one hundred Senate seats and 10.8% of the four hundred thirty-five House seats. In addition, Eleanor Holmes-Norton serves as the delegate to the House from the District of Columbia (non-voting position)...Forty-eight women (including the non-voting representative from the District of Columbia) from twenty-seven states, thirty-six democrats and twelve republicans, served in the House in 1994. This was 65% more than the twenty-nine women who held seats in the house in 1992.

To date, eighteen minority women have served in the House of Representatives, fourteen Black women, two Asian/Pacific Islander women, and three Hispanic women. In 1992, Carol Moseley-Braun was the first black woman to win a Senate seat. The first black woman in Congress was Shirley Chisholm, who was elected in 1968 and served until 1983. Five new black members were added in 1992: Corrine Brown, Eva Clayton, Eddie Bernice Johnson, Cynthia McKinney and Carrie Meek¹⁴.

Black Women's Political Involvement in Public Office

Despite the accomplishments of some black women, the struggle for equal political opportunity continues. As detailed earlier, 1994 was an explosive year for women and their political careers. "During this particular year, more women than ever before were serving in the U.S. Congress and four states had women governors".¹⁵ The author details:

Women in state legislatures has increased fivefold since 1969, while 18 of the 100 largest cities in the United States have female mayors. Of the 900 mayors of U.S. cities with populations over 30,000, one hundred forty-five, or 16%, were women. Even with this progress, women still hold only a small percentage of all elective offices. The American Women and Politics (CAWP) reports that at no level of office do women hold more than one fourth of the available position. In addition, 1,523 (20.5 percent) of the 7,424 state legislators in this country were women in 1994. They held 341 (17.2 percent) of the 1,984 state seats and 1,182 (21.7 percent) of the

¹⁴ Carol D. Foster, B.A., M.L.S., Alison Lawdes, B.A. and Cornelia B. Cessna, B.A., M.S., "Women's Changing Roles," *Information Plus*, 8 (Texas, Fall 1994): 56

¹⁵ Ibid.

5,440 state house or assembly seats. Surprisingly, sixty-one percent of women serving in state legislatures are Democratic. Each of the 50 states has at least six women in its state house and one woman in its state senate. The first woman to serve in a state legislature was Martha Hughes Canon, who was elected in the Utah State Senate in 1896¹⁶.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 aided in the limited success of the political participation and voting privileges of black women. This act ended the use of literacy tests and other discriminatory tactics as requirements to vote. In addition, it gave the federal government the authority to oversee all elections in areas where discrimination was known, or where less than 50 percent of voting-age population were registered in 1964. In addition to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, was the Equal Rights Amendment. The first attempt at this amendment was unable to gain approval from Congress, as did several subsequent attempts. "However, in 1973, the ERA received congressional approval and went to the state legislature for ratification."¹⁷ The said amendment stated as follows:

Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Although the ERA did not become part of the constitution as an agent of political socialization, it helped to bring women's rights to the front-line at a time when legal equality of the sexes were on the minds of many, including Congress and the courts.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷ Franklin, John Hope and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery To Freedom: seventh edition, chapter 23* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1994), 508

Agents of Political Socialization

In 1920, the 19th Amendment to the Constitution gave all American women the right to vote. In the nearly 77 years that followed, not only have women exercised that right, but they have obtained enough political power to influence the outcome of elections and to help define which issues candidates include in their platforms and what laws are passed. Although universal suffrage for American women did not occur until 1920 with the passage of the 19th Amendment, between 1838 and 1910, 25 states had already passed laws allowing women to vote on school issues. For instance, the author discloses:

In 1869, Wyoming became the first territory to offer suffrage to women, and as a result, refused to join the Union in 1890 unless its women could retain the right to vote. By 1920, 30 states, primarily in the West and Midwest, guaranteed women full suffrage. The final national victory came after a long and bitter struggle, led by brave women such as Susan B. Anthony, Carrie Chapman Catt, and Lucretia Mott.¹⁸

Then too, women were determined to make themselves noticed, as well as determined to receive the right of enfranchisement. "If women cannot vote", said Nannie Helen Burroughs at a 1912 National Baptist Convention, they should make it very uncomfortable for the men who have the ballot but do not know its value"¹⁹

Despite the success women have made with feminist movements and gaining the right to vote, they still do not receive equal opportunity or recognition. Not to mention the fact that black women were discriminated against during the feminist movement,

¹⁸ Carol D. Foster, B.A., M.L.S., Alison Lawdes, B.A. and Cornelia B. Cessna, B.A., M.S., 'Women's Changing Roles,' *Information Plus*, 8 (Texas, Fall 1994): 56

because white women were afraid that black women would damage their so-called pure, virtuous, and clean reputation. The author details:

Discrimination against black women reformers was the rule rather than the exception within the women's right movement from the 1830's to 1920. Although white feminist Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, and some others encouraged black women to join the struggle against sexism during the nineteenth century, antebellum reformers who were involved with women's abolitionist groups as well as women's rights organizations actively discriminated against blacks. The late-nineteenth-century women's club movements and the woman suffrage movement of the early twentieth century were also characterized by discriminatory policies and contained individuals who discriminated against black women.²⁰

After all, black women were still trying to prove their womanhood. According to bell hooks, "the rape of black women during slavery resulted in the continued devaluation of black womanhood".²¹ Hence, some black women organized separate groups, such as the **National Black Women's Club**, to help form some sense of common identity amongst themselves. As a result of this known discrimination against black women, there remains a difference in acceptance of black and white women in politics. Meanwhile, it is still evident that there is a difference in support of policy issues concerning women, as to those concerning men. This lack of equality is the result of the agents of political socialization. Agents of political socialization consist of the family, the school, religious

¹⁹Ibid., 122

²¹ Bell Hooks, *Ain't I A Woman: black women and feminism* (Boston: South End Press, 1981), 52.

²¹ Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *The Afro-American Women: Struggles and Images* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1997), 17.

institutions, peer groups, occupation, class and status, and the mass media. Accordingly, for this study, each area will be briefly addressed.

The Family

The influence of the family is the first socialization structure that an individual encounters. It is here that the child learns obedience and respect for authority. For example, the parents represent the ruler, while the child represents the subject to be ruled. "The family makes collective decisions, and for the child these decisions may be authoritarian failure to obey will lead to punishment"²². For instance, when the child has set duties within the family, it will encourage or teach them to obey laws that govern them. In addition to this, it will foster good work habits, creating productive members of society. The author goes on to say:

The most distinctive of these influences is the shaping of attitudes toward authority...An early experience with participation in family decision making can increase the child's sense of political competence, providing skills for political interaction, and encouraging active participation in the political system as an adult. By the same token, patterns of obedience to parental decisions can help to predispose the child's future performance as a political subject. The family also shapes future political attitudes by locating the individual in a vast social world; establishing ethnic, linguistic, and religious ties and social class; affirming cultural and educational values and achievements; and directing occupational and economic aspirations.²³

²² Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr. and Robert J. Mundt, *Comparative Politics: A Theoretical Framework*; chapter 3 (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers Inc., 1993), 49

²³Ibid.

Yet, the family has much different rules for the daughters, when it comes to politics. As mentioned in an earlier paragraph, girls are socialized for domesticated duties. Women who dare to venture outside the boundaries established by society are ostracized. Even Hillary Rodham Clinton has had her battles with negative labels, because of her strong political presence. She has destroyed the traditional role of the first lady, which was one of a passive and docile existence. Large numbers of men, as well as women dislike Mrs. Clinton because her independence is very noticeable. She represents the new-age woman; the career mother and wife. In fact, she lives by what Dan Quayle (Bush administration) would blame for the destruction of the family. She has a career outside the home and has an active life, independent of her husband's. Despite society's rejection to go against societal norms, change is underway. The family, along with the *Feminist Revolution*, has brought about profound effects. The author describes:

The feminist revolution of the last decade has profoundly affected the politics of advanced industrial nations. The trend toward gender equality in education, occupation, and profession has transformed the structure of the family. The attenuation of sharp differences between the sexes in self-images, in parental roles, and in the relations of men and women to the economy and the political system, is significantly affecting patterns of political recruitment, political participation, and public policy. A more open family, equality of parenting, and the early exposure of children to child care and preschool group experiences has modified the impact of the family in the socialization process in ways we still do not understand²⁴.

²⁴ Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr. and Robert J. Mundt, *Comparative Politics: A Theoretical Framework; chapter 3* (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers Inc., 1993), 49.

The School

“Educated persons are more aware of the impact of government on their lives and pay more attention to politics”.²⁵ Hence, those with little or no education, are likely to know much less of politics. This was the reason for the limited political participation of housewives of the early 1960's. “Schools provide adolescents with knowledge about the political world and their role in it. Schools also transmit the values and attitudes of society”.²⁶ These values and attitudes denote the attributes of masculinity as positive and femininity as negative. For example, schools foster domestication in courses targeting girls, like *home economics*. On the other hand, schools foster domination in courses targeting boys, like *wood shop*. The author explains:

The school provides children with more concrete perceptions of political institutions and relationships. Schools also transmit the values and attitudes of the society. They can play an important role in shaping attitudes about the unwritten rules of the political game, as the traditional British public schools instill the values of public duty, informal political relations, and political integrity. Schools can reinforce affection for the political system and provide common symbols for an expressive response to the system, such as the flag and the pledge of allegiance. And of course, when a new nation comes into being, or a revolutionary regime comes to power in an old nation, it usually turns immediately to the school as a means to supplant “outdated” values with those more congruent with the new rulers ideology.²⁷

²⁵Ibid., 50

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., 50

As mentioned throughout this section, the education of women was indeed inferior to that of men. To add, black women not only had to endure inferior educational preparation as a race, but as a sex. Although black women played a part in contributing to the uplift of the masses, through education, many remain unrecognized. The author continues:

Mary McLeod Bethune is perhaps the only woman identified by most history texts as having played a significant role in the building of a black educational institution. Whereas the leadership and contributions of black men like Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Dubois, Joseph C. Price, John Hope, and Kelly Miller are commonly known.²⁸

However, there were those like Nannie Helen Burroughs, who worked to establish a school for girls in Virginia. Her zeal to form a school for girls went in unison with her activities within the organized movement of black Baptist women. The author reveals:

In 1900 in Richmond, at the Twentieth Annual Session of the National Baptist Convention, the Reverend L. G. Jordan, corresponding secretary of the foreign Mission Board, recommended the formation of a Baptist women's convention, which would serve as an adjunct to the men's convention and labor particularly in the fields of missionary work. Having been accepted by the men, the motion allowed the women present at this conference to inaugurate the Woman's Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention.

It was within this newly created body that the idea of developing a trade school for girls was formally introduced by Burroughs. . . . The school was to be called the National Baptist Training School for Women and Girls and would produce missionaries, Sunday school teachers, stenographers, bookkeepers, musicians, cooks, laundresses, housemaids, and other skilled workers. Despite the history of the National Baptist Convention in support of black education, the men did not immediately

²⁸ Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1997), 97.

endorse a school for girls. Criticism focused primarily on its training women to be workers and breadwinners, rather than missionaries exclusively²⁹.

Of course, the establishment of this training school for girls was quite an accomplishment, yet some of the jobs and skills targeted were stereotypical roles for women. In addition, men still showed some opposition early on, in the development of the school. The education of black women was not viewed as an asset to the Black race as a whole, until much later. However, what this opposition revealed was fear of matriarchal dominance and a breakdown of the separate spheres doctrine.

In the meantime, this fear of women being in control of their own lives through educational enrichment has led to misogyny. *Webster* defines misogyny as a hatred of women. This act of selfishness and jealousy on the part of a patriarchal society and its implementers, is more than enough to destroy unity within any race. If women had been given equal educational opportunity, just as all races should have, discriminatory and prejudicial actions would not exist. Unfortunately, these injustices remain unchanged, through all the efforts and struggles of all people.

²⁹Ibid., 98

Religious Institutions

The religions of the world are carriers of cultural and moral values, which inevitably have political implications, affecting politics and public policy.³⁰ For example, in King James Version of the Holy Bible, the book of Genesis speaks of a passive, meek and submissive woman. The author writes:

Unto the women he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.³¹

According to this passage, man is the one who governs and woman is his servant. Woman's ultimate duty is portrayed as reproduction and to satisfy her husband. This view is fairly expected, since man interpreted the Bible. In addition, until recently the teachings of the word were dominated by men. However, regardless of where one is from or the origin of his or her faith, religion remains a dominant factor in politics. "The religions of the world are carriers of cultural and moral values, which inevitably have political implications, affecting politics and public policy".³²

The structure of the church itself is an example of a patriarchal stronghold of political and social norms. For example, until very recently, the only auxiliary men and women served on as a cohesive unit was the choir. Although more women are ministers today, their existence remains rare. Despite this milestone, men and women remain

³⁰ Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr. and Robert J. Mundt, *Comparative Politics: A Theoretical Framework; Chapter 3* (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers Inc., 1993), 51

³¹ Gen. 3:16 KJV (King James Version).

³² Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr. and Robert J. Mundt, *Comparative Politics: A Theoretical Framework; Chapter 3* (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers Inc., 1993), 51.

segregated in some aspects of the church. For example, in Baptist churches, women belong to auxiliary boards such as the Mothers' board, the Missionary committee or the nurses' staff. Yet, a fathers' board is unheard of and a male nurse remains rare. In addition to this, women are not allowed to serve as Deacons. Blind to the obvious discriminatory actions displayed in the church, Baptist as well as other religions, it remains an important factor in the lives of many. It stands as a guiding factor of all aspects of life, including politics.

As expected, the congregation looks to the minister as the leader and many times, hangs on his every word as law. The author writes:

The great religious leaders have seen themselves as teachers, and their followers have usually attempted to shape the socialization of children through schooling and to socialize converts of all ages through preaching and religious services. While the frequency of church attendance varies greatly in different societies and religions, the presence of religious identity and organizations is felt in most political systems.³³

However, one disturbing concern of the patriarchal dominance in the church is why male politicians or other male members attend church more frequently during the election years or eras focusing on men. In comparison, women politicians or other female members attend church more frequently. In fact, despite the patriarchal dominance in the church, women drastically outnumber men. It would seem more logical that a larger gathering of men would be represented in the church, since its message is interpreted as men being the head.

³³Ibid.

Peer Groups

"Although school, family, and religious movements are the agents most obviously engaged in socialization, several other social units also shape political attitudes". The peer group one interacts in even during child's play serves as a form of socialization. A peer group includes childhood playgroups, cliques, fraternities and sororities, work groups and community groups. Any group one has close ties with is a peer group. The author details:

Individuals adopt the views of their peers because they like or respect them or because they want to be like them. It may be awkward or painful to be different. A peer group socializes its members by motivating or pressuring them to conform to the attitudes or behavior accepted by the group. An individual may become interested in politics or begin to follow political events because close friends do so.³⁴

Peer groups as mentioned earlier are apparent very early in life. By the time one reaches high school, peer groups are very prevalent and are very important factors in development. In high school for example, an individual will try out for a particular sport because a friend is doing so. Another example is that an individual will choose a particular college because others students are going, or want to go. "In such cases, the individual modifies his or her interests and behavior to reflect those of the group in an effort to be accepted by its members."³⁵

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., 52.

Occupation, Class, and Status

Historically, and still in some parts of the world, societies have been divided into classes. Occupation, class, and status all influence political participation. For example, if an individual's occupation is related to politics in some way, the influence would be obvious. Naturally, he/she would go along with the majority, perhaps in fear of losing his or her job. Therefore, he/she would tend to be more politically active. If the class one associates with is highly politically aware, then there is a likely chance he or she will be as well. If one is considered of high status by society, he or she will more than likely also be politically active, or at least appear to be.

Of course men and women differ on many debatable issues, and consequently creates a gender gap. This difference of opinion is the result of occupation, class, status, etc. Women and men often differ on certain social and economic issues which are reflected in their voting behavior and political attitudes, creating the gender gap. The author continues:

During the past two decades, the gap in voter turnout between men and women has narrowed. At one time, women were less likely to vote than men, but now slightly more women than men report voting 6.6 million versus 4.8 million. Voter turnout for the 1992 presidential election was the highest since the 1972 election. Greater proportions of white women voted in 1992 than did black or Hispanic women. Less than a third (30.9 percent) of Hispanic women voted partly because about 40 percent of Hispanics of voting age in the United States are not U. S. citizens.³⁶ (see tables 1 and 2)

³⁶Carol D. Foster, B.A., M.L.S., Alison Lawdes, B.A. and Cornelia B. Cessna, B.A., M.S., "Women's Changing Roles," *Information Plus*, 8 (Texas Fall 1994): 56-57

The increase in voter turnout in women is partially attributed to the growing independence of women. Many are not married and do not have to depend on their husbands' political ideology to represent the family's political choice.

Table 1
Voter Turnout by Race and Sex

% of Voting Age Population Who Reported Voting			Number Who Reported Voting	
1992				
Race	Women	Men	Women	Men
Black	56.7	50.8	6.6 million	4.8 million
Hispanic	30.9	26.8	2.3 million	1.9 million
White	64.5	62.6	52.9 million	47.6 million
1988				
Black	54.2	48.2	5.9 million	4.2 million
Hispanic	30.1	27.4	2.0 million	1.8 million
White	59.8	58.3	47.7 million	42.7 million
1984				
Black	59.2	51.7	6.1 million	4.2 million
Hispanic	33.1	32.1	1.7 million	1.4 million
White	62.0	60.8	47.7 million	42.4 million

Source: Center for the American Women and Politics (CWPA), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, Sex Differences in Voter Turnout (New Brunswick, NJ: 1997) available from [http:// www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html](http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html), accessed 2 December 1998.

Table 2
Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections

Presidential Election Year	% of Voting Age Population Who Reported Voting		Number Who Reported Voting	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
1996	55.5	52.8	56.1 million	48.9 million
1992	62.3	60.2	60.6 million	53.3 million
1988	58.3	56.4	54.5 million	47.7 million
1984	60.8	59.0	54.5 million	47.4 million
1980	59.4	59.1	49.3 million	43.8 million
1976	58.8	59.6	45.6 million	41.1 million
1972	62.0	64.1	44.9 million	40.9 million
1968	66.0	69.8	41.0 million	38.0 million
1964	67.0	71.9	39.2 million	37.5 million

Source: Center for the American Women and Politics (CWPA), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, Sex Differences in Voter Turnout (New Brunswick, NJ: 1997) available from [http:// www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html](http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html), accessed 2 December 1998.

Table 3
Voter Turnout in Non-presidential Elections

Non-presidential Election Year	% of Voting Population Who Reported Voting		Number Who Reported Voting	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
1994	44.9	44.4	44.6 million	40.4 million
1990	45.4	44.6	43.3 million	38.7 million
1986	46.1	45.8	42.2 million	37.7 million
1982	48.4	48.7	42.3 million	38.0 million
1978	45.3	46.6	36.3 million	33.3 million
1974	43.4	46.2	32.5 million	30.7 million
1970	52.7	56.8	33.8 million	32.0 million
1966	53.0	58.2	31.8 million	30.7 million

Source: Center for the American Women and Politics (CWPA), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, Sex Differences in Voter Turnout (New Brunswick, NJ: 1997) available from [http:// www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html](http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html), accessed 2 December 1998.

Mass Media

The mass media is also an agent of socialization. The author details:

Modern societies cannot exist without widespread and rapid widespread communication...Information about events occurring anywhere in the world becomes general knowledge in a few hours . . . In addition to providing specific and immediate information about political events, the mass media also convey directly, or indirectly, the major values on which society agrees.³⁷

³⁷ Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr. and Robert J. Mundt, *Comparative Politics: A Theoretical Framework; Chapter 3* (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers Inc., 1993), 52.

For example, the hearing involving Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill caused an increase in the political interest of women. "Many women across the nation sat watching their televisions as the all male and all white Senate Judiciary Committee questioned African-American Anita Hill for hours during the hearing on the appointment of Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court".³⁸ This event helped to bring the double standards and discriminatory acts against women full circle in American society.

The purpose of this study is to explore the extent to which political socialization plays a significant role in the election of African American women to public office. After a careful review of the literature, the following hypotheses will be tested.

1. African American women are more likely to be elected to public office if the Voting Rights Act of 1965 continues to enforce the right of women to hold office.
2. African American Women are more likely to be a political voice in the American political system if their constituents continue to elect them based on their goal of bringing goods and services to their districts.
3. African American women are more likely to be a part of the American political system if the attitudes about them, held by men, continue to change.

³⁸ E. Nancy McGlen, and Karen O'Connor, *Women, Politics, and American Society* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1995), 74.

METHODOLOGY

The study is a descriptive case study of political socialization and how it affects the election of African American women to public office. The hypotheses for the study will be tested on data collected in Atlanta, Georgia in 1998. Using a content analysis of the various journals and books, the study will explore how the stereotypes of traditional women continue to serve as artificial barriers that limit their selection and election to public office. Unlike most studies on African American female elected officeholders, this study established certain indicators with which these women must overcome. They include, among others, agents of political socialization (i.e. the family, the school, religious institutions, peer groups, occupation, class and status, the mass media, sex and race.)

It is hoped that the hypotheses will reveal data that will identify whether black women appear not to be politically active because they have been socialized to avoid politics as a career choice. The study of women's political participation is significant to the field of political science primarily because of the diversification of the many talents of women involved in the political struggle for community empowerment.

Moreover, the research will also attempt to focus on voting, holding political office, attending town hall meetings, writing letters to political officials coercing political issues and various other activities. Additional procedures that will be used to support the thesis which include the use of secondary data derived from the U.S Census reports from the late 1960's to the mid 1990's. In addition, data will be taken from the U.S. Board of

Elections and the 1996 Political Attitudes Survey conducted by the Political Science Department at Clark Atlanta University. This research plan will consist of a time-series study, which will help determine if socialization has any influence on the political participation. Some general advantages in using secondary data are that they eliminate the need for surveys. Since the data has already been collected, the researcher needs only to analyze the data. The advantage of using a time-series, to study the influence of socialization on women's political participation, is that it allows evidence to be compared and contrasted. Then too, it may make it possible to show progression and/or regression. In addition, it allows the researcher to show different value systems in society and how they have changed over time. One last advantage might be that a time-series study might prevent the researcher, from confusing temporary influences with long-term or permanent influences.

ORGANIZATION OF MAJOR CONCEPTS

1. Socialization is the way children are introduced or exposed to the values and attitudes of their society.
2. Political Socialization is a form of socialization which shapes political attitudes.
3. Masculinity is pertaining to the male sex; characteristics of or suitable to a man. It is one whom is strong, brave and manly.
4. Domestication is pertaining to the family or household; fond of home life or household affairs.
5. Domination is to control, govern or rule.
6. Femininity is pertaining to the female sex; characteristics of or suitable to a woman. It is one whom is giving nurturing and womanly.

ORGANIZATION OF MAJOR CONCEPTS CONTINUED

7. **Political Participation** is the act of being knowledgeable of politics, active, involved, voting, running for or holding political positions/office.
8. **Agents of Socialization** are elements encountered in ones lifetime, which impacts or shapes individual personality, perception and/or actions to certain experiences.
9. **The Feminist Movement** was a politically organized struggle in which both black and white women pushed to gain the privilege to suffrage.
10. **Misogyny** is the hatred of women.
11. **Discrimination** is the act of exclusion or mistreatment of another person or persons because of a specified characteristic, religion, etc.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Childhood Socialization

According to Handel in, *Childhood Socialization*, Socialization is the process by which the newborn human organism is transformed into a social person, a person capable of interacting with others. Interacting with others implies several different kinds of activities-carrying on a conversation; forming affectionate ties; participating as a member of many kinds of organizations, such as a school classroom, a social club, a work group in a shop or office; sharing loyalty with many unknown others who are fellow citizens of a nation or fellow adherents of a church. He goes on to say that, a Newborn has the ascribed status of son or daughter. "Thereafter, in sequence, the child will have to gain the qualifications of an acceptable pupil in nursery school or kindergarten; an acceptable playmate or other children in neighborhood and school, and so on, to a succession of qualifications throughout the life course."³⁹

He says, "As a child grows, various experiences may influence the way he or she adapts to the surrounding environment. Different experiences are encountered as a result of agents of socialization." As stated earlier, socialization is the process of gaining the capabilities for social interaction that enables the person to function in society. Handel continues:

³⁹ Gerald Handel, *Childhood Socialization* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 1988), xi.

Socialization is a process that is carried out by persons and organizations that may have official designation as agents of socialization or that may be allowed to function as such an agent. They are agents in a double sense of that term: (1) They act upon the child; and (2) they act on behalf of the larger society (or some particular segment of it that may be acceptable or unacceptable to the larger society). The principle agents in our society, and in many others, are family, school, and peer group. In addition, in the last 35 years, television has come to be considered an important agent in our society.⁴⁰

However, the family can be the most influential of all, since it is the first agent encountered by the child. The family initially teaches the child what is appropriate or inappropriate behavior. The author writes:

Adults spend a good deal of time and effort attempting to transmit such standards to their children, and they often feel directly responsible for the extent to which their children have understood and adopted the message. . . . In exerting their socializing influences, adults have many possible techniques at their command. They can tutor or lecture their children on the proper ways to behave, they can administer rewards for desired behavior and punishment for undesired behavior, and they can arrange their children's lives in order to expose them to certain experiences and restrict them from others.⁴¹

Very early on, parents and society have certain expectations for children. "As part of their integration into society, children are required to adopt certain behavioral standards."⁴² "The family is part of a society that sustains a particular culture and thus has its own socialization effects, which filter through the family, day-care center, school, religious institution, television, and other media and agencies."⁴³

⁴⁰ Ibid., xi

⁴¹ Ibid., 7

⁴² Ibid.

Jeffery Goldstein, *Toys, Play and Child Development* supports the view of Handel by addressing the importance of play in childhood socialization. He says, "A toy itself may influence the nature of play, but children's different styles of play also influence how toys are used. In the relations between toys, play, and child development, each influences the other."⁴⁴ Goldstein says that children's lives are reflected in their play. "Still, some parents show little respect toward what their children play and how they play; yet, it could say a lot about the development of the child."⁴⁵ Goldstein adds:

Play does not occur in a vacuum. Important events and relationships in children's lives are reflected in their play themes. Play is also a mirror of social life, but always a distorting mirror, such as one finds in a fun house [which, in a manner of speaking, is what we are talking about]. Therefore, children enact the gender roles they see around them, as well as the roles of parents, nurses, teachers, and soldiers. If these did not matter to adults, they would not matter to children.⁴⁶

An additional major work of literature is Winegars' *Social Interaction and the Development of Children's Understanding*. In this book, the author talks about the organization and process in the development of children's understanding of social events. He says, "Children at very young ages often act within social settings as if they know the rules". Moreover, Winegar continues:

They appear to generate expectations, recognize role requirements, assume reciprocity, and behave acceptably in a variety of social situations. Furthermore, children usually learn the rules of new social situations very

⁴³ Ibid., 47

⁴⁴ Jeffery H. Goldstein, *Toys, Play, and Child Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

quickly, often beginning to demonstrate newly acquired understanding after only a single exposure to a new event. Having learned the rules of one situation, children typically apply this understanding to new situations.⁴⁷

Children and Peer Groups

Patricia and Peter Alder's *Peer Power: Preadolescent Culture and Identity* is about the peer culture of preadolescents, children between the ages of eight and twelve, or approximately grades three through six. The authors claim that it is about the way these children live their lives and interact with each other when they are free from the direction of adults.

The authors tell about peer culture and the importance of peer groups. They focus on the meanings children attach to social objects, social behaviors, and social experiences that are important to them. "They go on to say that, these meanings are found in the subculture they create that lies in and around the culture of adults, but which exists primarily for them."⁴⁸

Other authors [Corsaro 1992] suggest that peer culture is an established set of activities or routines, tokens, values and concerns that children produce and share, and that this culture disseminates through interaction in which children appropriate adult culture, but reconstruct it so that it fits the situation at hand. The author continues:

Peer culture is defined as a system of knowledge, beliefs, behaviors, and customs shared by members of an interacting group, to which members can refer and that serve as the basis of further interaction.

⁴⁷ Lucien T. Winegar, *Social Introduction and the Development of children's Understanding* (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1989), 45.

⁴⁸ Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler, *Peer Power: Preadolescent Culture and Identity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 4.

Members recognize that they share experiences and these experiences can be referred to with the expectation that, other members will understand them. Children's peer culture flows out of the world of children, guiding and shaping children's understanding of what happens within them. Members need not all be friends, belonging to the same primary group, but as peers, they belong to a common secondary group.⁴⁹

Television and Childhood Development

Although children of every generation have always been faced with changes taking place around them, the media explosion today presents special challenges. "Television and its electronic retaliations seem to play a role, although one sometimes difficult to identify, in the socialization process."⁵⁰ Still, it is not an exaggeration to suggest that television is one of the core components of a multimedia society that has dramatically altered the nature of childhood and the development of children. The author explains:

Children today live in a world composed of media forms that are now part of the total culture in which a child is born, grows, and develops into an adult. It is also a world in which the United States is well on its way to being truly universal in its cultural diversity. Against the backdrop of the media explosion and changing cultural landscape in the country, television and other electronic media are becoming more important than ever as a type of noncertificated teacher of children.⁵¹

Unfortunately, television is a major contributor to the child's developing image of societal roles and semblance of the ideal man or woman. In interactions between men and women on television, the men ordinarily are more dominant. Men give the orders, and

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Gordon L. Berry and Joy Keiko Asamen, *Children and Television: Images in a Changing Sociocultural World* (Newbury Park: SAGE Publishings, Inc., 1993), 5.

⁵¹ Ibid, ix.

their orders are more likely to be followed, except in situation comedies and family dramas. Typically, men issue their orders on "masculine" activities, such as business, law, and government. Women give orders on both masculine and feminine topics, but mainly on neutral ones. Women are more passive and less involved in problem solving. They ask for more psychological support and usually get it. Making plans differ between the sexes; men make most of the plans for themselves and others, and more of the plans made by men are successful.

According to a study on personal characteristics, the men on television are rational, ambitious, smart, competitive, powerful, stable, dominant, violent, and tolerant, while women are sensitive, romantic, attractive, happy, warm, sociable, peaceful, fair, submissive, and timid. Other studies show that women on television are more concerned with family, romance, and social relationships but are less competent than men. On television, for men the emphasis is on strength, performance, and skill; for women, it is on attractiveness and desirability. "Women characters are more likely than men to use their bodies seductively, according to a survey of sexual behavior on prime time television."⁵²

"In *Children and Television: Images in a Changing Sociocultural World*, Berry and Asamen approaches the psychosocial and sociocultural constructs of television and children from a multidisciplinary perspective."⁵³ They say that television programs with their images, portrayals, and creative story telling are more than passive entertainment. It

⁵² Gerald Handel, *Childhood Socialization* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 1988), 241.

⁵³ Gordon L. Berry and Joy Keiko Asamen, *Children and Television: Images in a Changing Sociocultural World* (Newbury Park: SAGE Publishings, Inc., 1993), ix.

teaches the young viewers something about themselves as well as about individuals and groups who are different. Television has had such an impact in the U.S. that is referred to metaphorically as a “window to the world”. The authors write:

Television is a medium that has made such an impact on U.S. society and the world that we are always creating metaphors to describe its role and place as a communicator. Although it is indeed correct to view television as a “window to the world”, a fitting metaphor. . . . Television is an audiovisual tapestry on which is being woven a complex and ever changing national and international set of images that are hung on the small screen for all to see. It is a tapestry of highly creative, and not so creative ideas, thoughts, languages, life-styles, and sociocultural portrayals decorated into varicolored patterns of entertainment, information, and social messages that, like the metaphor, frequently transfers meaning from the object it ordinarily designates to one it may designate only by implicit comparison.⁵⁴

Judith Van Evra, *Television and Child Development*, says that, “people worldwide spend more than 3.5 billion hours watching television daily (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 1990), and the average U.S. 19 year-old has spent more time in his or her life viewing television commercials than an employee spends on a full-time job in a year (Dworetzky, 1993).”⁵⁵ With this in mind, there is likely to be some impact on the developing child.

Van Evra continues:

Although it is difficult to know just what actually is partially or fully attended to, what is learned, what is remembered, what impressions are gleaned, and what images are formed, such questions are especially important in relation to child viewers because they are still in very active stages of development. Their attitudes, beliefs, and ideas about the world—as well as physical, cognitive, and social skills—are taking form, and they absorb information from everywhere. Because of the considerable number

⁵⁴ Ibid., 1.

⁵⁵ Judith Van Evra, *Television and Child Development* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 1998), xi.

of hours children spend viewing television, however, television becomes a disproportionately large potential informational and attitudinal source.⁵⁶

In *Fake, Fact, and Fantasy*, Maire Messenger Davies says that, "Questions of reality—or modality—are essential ingredients of media literacy and media education programs, but in many such programs it is assumed that everybody knows what is real and, therefore, no definition is necessary. However, children need a clear definition of what is fact or fantasy". The author continues:

Children are born with an innate human capacity to learn. They also need to learn to understand the world in which they live, including the way that it is represented in different symbolic forms. These vary, depending on when and where we live, and each generation of children has to come to terms with these variations.⁵⁷

The central role that television plays in a multimedia environment for children results from the fact that television, unlike all other media before or since, reach children at a much earlier age and with greater intensity. For many, it serves as an around the clock baby-sitter. "This enhanced potential for influencing the intellectual and emotional development of younger viewers is simultaneously television's greatest promise and greatest disappointment".⁵⁸

Shaping Political Attitudes

In recent years, research in the area of public opinion has been focused on the effects of the media. Television, in particular, has been the object of attention as a

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Maire Messenger Davies, *Fake, Fact, and Fantasy: Children's Interpretations of Television Reality* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1997), 3.

⁵⁸ Gordon L. Berry and Joy Keiko Asamen, *Children and Television: Images in a Changing Sociocultural World* (Newbury Park: SAGE Publishings, Inc., 1993), 9.

primary influence agent. Lenart, *Shaping Political Attitudes: The Impact of interpersonal Communication and Mass Media*, argues that media effects are only half the equation when it comes to forming public opinions. Lenart Writes:

In "total information flow," the mass media cannot be the exclusive source of political information, and the media must share the political information environment with interpersonal communication. This volume bridges the gap between media and interpersonal communication and examines their combined effect on political attitudes and cognition.⁵⁹

Allen R. Wilcox, *Public Opinion and Political Attitude* says that in all political systems the opinions of groups and individuals and of the elite's, and of the mass public play a role. He continues:

Even the governments of nations that deny political freedom attempt, in various ways, to assess public opinion in order to maintain stability and support for their policies. In countries officially designated as democratic, the role of public opinion, in theory at least, assumes even greater importance. Phrases such as 'popular sovereignty' and "majority rule" signify the desirability of widespread participation by the citizenry in political affairs.⁶⁰

"Recent work in political science, such as *Attention, Attitude, and Affect in Response to Advertising*, has shown that emotions associated with a politician and the traits attributed to him or her are important determinants of voting behavior over and above the contribution of party identification and issue attitudes."⁶¹

⁵⁹ Silvo Lenart, *Shaping political attitudes: the impact of interpersonal communication and mass media* (Thousand Oak: Sage Publishings, 1994), back cover.

⁶⁰ Allen R. Wilcox, *Public Opinion and Political Attitudes* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974), 1.

⁶¹ Eddie M. Clark, Timothy C. Brock and David W. Stewart, *Attention, Attitudes, and Affect in Response to advertising* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1993), 224.

Clark, Brock and Stewart, *Attention, Attitude, and Affect in Response to Advertising*, address the role that the nonverbal behavior of politicians may play, in influencing voter emotions, and how these immediate responses may mediate political attitude and cognition, and voting and other consumption behaviors relevant to political marketing. The authors say that the growth of the electronic media has been the cause of dramatically increased exposure of the average voter to political leaders. Advertising media such as radio and television has allowed voters to observe body language and mannerisms that may say more about the politicians than what is disclosed in a written speech. The author writes:

Fifty years ago, voters contact with politicians was mainly through reading their speeches, often reprinted in the newspapers, or through reading newspapers articles about politicians' political issue positions. Apart from local politics, few voters of the total national electorate ever actually heard or saw their political leaders; an extremely small percentage of this group had contact with political leaders with any frequency at all.

The advent and proliferation of radio enabled great numbers of voters to hear the actual speeches of their political leaders for the first time. Radio also gives voters access to information that is not ordinarily transmitted when politicians are written about in the press. On the radio, some nonverbal aspects of speaking are audible to listeners. For example, hesitations or stutters are heard and may convey a lack of certainty to voters, which would not have been reflected in the written version of the speech. Thus, with the advent of radio, voters were made privy to more intimate information regarding the behavioral style of politicians, and perhaps this became a factor in determining voter feelings about and support for different candidates.⁶²

However, today television has become the dominant source providing voters with direct access to politicians. The author continues:

More recently, television has become the dominant medium providing voters with direct access to politicians. There has been much discussion of the increased use and potential effectiveness of the televised

⁶² Ibid., 223.

political spot ad (e.g., Faber & Storey, 1984; Shyles, 1984), and of the role of television in setting the national agenda (e.g., Iyengar, Peters, & Kinder, 1982). Television brings politicians into the living rooms of the electorate, thereby exposing them to great numbers of consumers. In addition, television provides consumers with visual as well as auditory access to the behavior of politicians.

Television focuses the electorate's attention on subtle changes of facial expression, hand and body movements, changes of intonation, apparel, and even the physical attractiveness of political leaders. These become inescapable aspects of the politician as a person when he or she appears on television. In modern politics, voters have access to these sources of information about their leaders and it is plausible to assume that they make inferences about politicians at least in part on the basis of their performance in front of a camera.

Table 4

Criteria for Classification of Expressive Behavior*

Nonverbal Channel	Happiness/Reassurance	Anger/Threat	Fear/Evasion
Facial Expression			
Eyelids	Wide open; normal; slightly closed	Opened wide	Upper lids raised; lower tightened
Eye brows	Raised	Lowered; drawn together	Lowered; furrowed
Eye orientation	Focused then cut off	Staring	Averted
Mouth	Raised corners of mouth; showing upper or both sets of teeth	Forward corners or lowered; lower teeth showing or none	Retracted corners of mouth; variable show of teeth
Head Motion			
Lateral	Side to side	None	Side to side
Vertical	Up/down	None	Up/down
Head Orientation			
To body	Normal to trunk	Forward from trunk	Turned from vertical
Angle to vertical	Up	Down	Down
Posture			
Shoulders	Relaxed	Tense and raised	Turned away; tense
Torso	Relaxed; leaning back	Leaning forward	Turned away; moving
Tempo	Smooth movements	Fixed position; little or no break	Brusque or rough transitions

Source: Eddie M. Clark, Timothy C. Brock and David W. Stewart, *Attention, Attitudes, and Affect in Response to advertising* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1993), 224.

*Note. These data are from Master et al. (1986)

Michael Corbett, *American Public Opinion: Trends, Processes, and Patterns*,
says that there has been considerable research showing links between personality and

political attitudes [e.g., Adorno et al. 1950; Rokeach 1960; McClosky and Schaar, 1965; Sniderman 1975; Sullivan et al. 1982]. Yet the relationship is not that strong, because social influences on attitudes and behavior are stronger and will override the influence of personality. Thus, the socioeconomic characteristics of an individual appear to be more important than personality in shaping political views. Furthermore, social norms place restraints on the opinions and behavior of people and thereby limit the influence of personality. Thus, the social environment will muffle the effects of personality on political attitudes and behavior.⁶³

Children and Politics

The political development of children have been of concern for some time now, since they are the future leaders. Fred Greenstein, in *Children and Politics* examined the political development of children in the last five years of elementary school, to determine their political involvement and awareness. During this time, one thinks their lives are filled with toys, games and make-believe, but Greenstein found that the years between nine and thirteen were crucial periods. Greenstein writes:

The years between nine and thirteen are an undramatic but crucial period of social-psychological and political development. These, in psychoanalytic parlance, are "latency" years...during the last five years of elementary school, children move from near—but not complete—ignorance of adult politics to awareness of most of the conspicuous features of the adult political arena.⁶⁴

⁶³ Micheal Corbett, *American Public Opinion: Trends, Processess, and Patterns* (White Plains,: Longman, 1991), 188

⁶⁴ Fred I. Greenstein, *Children and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 1.

During his research, he found that there was a remarkable amount of data relevant to understanding political sex difference in boys and girls. "Greenstein suggested that the first place to look for an explanation was in people's sex role conceptions, their view of the kinds of political acts which are appropriately male or female."⁶⁵ Table 4 suggests that some sort of awareness of politics as an area of male specialization develops during childhood. This table reports the proportions of children who checked *mother* and *father* in response to the voting advice item. Children of both sexes were more likely to choose the father than mother as an appropriate source of voting advice.

Table 5

Parents Chosen as Preferred Source of Voting Advice, by sex and School Year

	Boys		Girls		Total Cases	
School Year	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	boys	Girls
4	54%	15%	35%	44%	54	57
5	44	10	46	24	61	57
6	53	4	43	22	57	58
7	51	11	31	24	73	72
8	42	11	35	16	92	88
Total	48	10	40	25	337	332

Source: Greenstein, Fred I., *Children and Politics: Chapter 6* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965), 119.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 118-119.

This table also revealed that girls choose the mother more often than do boys, and boys exceed girls in references to the father.

The Traditional Views of Women, Socialization, Their Political Participation and Their Acceptance into the Field of Politics

According to Githens and Prestage, *A Portrait of Marginality*, after several years of academic exclusion, political inquiry focusing on the political plight and participation of women received little to virtually no attention.⁶⁶ However, this trend has changed in recent years.

The current literature consists of a significant number of women's political progression studies, which include examination of individual women's accomplishments as well as the gender as a whole. A large portion of the research on women's progression focused on women gaining the right of enfranchisement. Among some of the earlier works focusing on voting are Mim Kelber *Women and Government: New Ways to Political Power*, Githens and Prestage *A Portrait of Marginality and Information Plus: Women in American Politics*. These studies have all been very helpful in revealing that there is much more to political participation than voting, although most emphasis is placed on it. The author explains:

This is partly because electoral behavior is easy to investigate, but also because voting is the activity most thoroughly stressed by those who undertake to socialize the man in the street into the duties of citizenship and because it is the cornerstone of much democratic theory. However, exercising the franchise, as significant as it may be, is only one of many types of political activity. Political campaigns elicit a vast range of

⁶⁶ Marianne Githens and Jewel Parentage, *A Portrait of Marginality* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1974), 67.

behaviors, from the ridiculous to the sublime (and subliminal). Bumper stickers, billboards, campaign buttons, rally attendance, monetary contributions, and soliciting funds are a part of 'normal' democratic politics. Demonstrations, riots, rebellions, assassinations, *coups d'etat*, general strikes, civil disobedience, and terrorist activity on the other hand, are types of political behavior that are, in varying degrees, considered to be incompatible with orderly democratic processes.⁶⁷

Other earlier works of literature show the traditional roles of women. Some of the most notable works in this area include the following. Rosemary Agonito *History of Ideas of Women: A Source Book*, Alexander Palmer Haley *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, King James Version of *the Holy Bible: The Book of Genesis*, Elizabeth Janeway *A Man's World/Woman's Place: A Study of Social Mythology* and, Bruno Leone *Male/Female Roles: Opposing Viewpoints*. These studies have shown that for a long time, Women have been viewed as mere servants to her male counterparts, with no need nor desire to progress. In addition, they were thought to have no purpose other than to perform domestic duties and to satisfy their husband.

Later works reflect the emergence of women into politics, other than enfranchisement. They include holding political positions, campaigning for public office and sphere-heading political movements. Some of the major works include the following: Paula Giddings *When and Where I Enter*, Victor E. Bynum *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the South*, Carol A. Christy *Sexual Differences in Political Participation: Process of Change in Fourteen Nations* and Conway, Bourque and Scott *Learning About Women: Gender, Politics and Power*.

⁶⁷ Allen R. Wilcox, *Public Opinion and Political Attitudes* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974), 13.

Other works that follow focus on the socialization of women in American society. They include Kopp and Kirkpatrick *Becoming Female: Perspectives on Development*, Kelly and Boutitier *The Making of Political Women: A Study of Socialization and Role Conflict*, and Almond Powell and Mundt *Comparative Politics: A Theoretical Framework Chapter 3*. These sources helped to link socialization as an influence on the political participation of women.

One final area of the later literature focused on the acceptance of women in politics. These sources include the following: Conway and Conway *Sexual Harassment No More*, Irene Diamond *Sex Roles in the State House*, McGlen and *Women Politics and American Society*, and Pippa Norris *Political and Sexual Equality: The Comparative Positions of Women in Western Democracies*.

Traditional Views of Women and Their Societal Roles

The studies mentioned, along with others, have provided a strong foundation for comparing and contrasting the changing roles of American women. They have successfully painted a picture of a male dominated society, in which women were the ruled and men were rulers. They clearly revealed the history of the American Woman of being weak, passive, and humble. She is portrayed as having no rights of her own. She is portrayed as incapable of being independent and making important decisions on her own. Her mental capacity, according to early philosophers, is not sufficient in making choices and decisions. Therefore, they must be done by her male counterpart. These stereotypes of traditional women, as mentioned earlier dates back to the times of early philosophers. Aristotle for example believed that women were incompetent and irrational. He states:

Ultimately women were deficient, or lack male principles and rationale. This is what affects the intellectual and social status of women for the worse. She is physically weaker, less capable of rational thought, and subordinate to the rule of man...Aquinas also accepts Aristotle's notion that woman is a defective male, lacking in vital force as true of all women.⁶⁸

Although, from a Christian or Protestant point of view, "since God created woman, the creation of woman is not tainted by defect. "It is natural and ordered like every divine act."⁶⁹ Although all women were traditionally viewed as meek, passive and humble, married women were viewed as mere objects of property, belonging to her husband for whatever purposes he so desired.

⁶⁸ Miriam Agonito, *A Man's World, A Woman's Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 24.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE FEMALE ELECTIVE

American culture, like any other culture, has set ideas, and social images of women. Unfortunately, many of these ideas and social images are incorrect and cause a lot of pressure and stress on women. Nonetheless, the woman that endures the most ostracizing is the female elective. Epstein *Women's Place: Options and Limits on Professional*

Careers states:

Yet American culture, like other cultures, encompasses many values and social images which are often incompatible and contradictory. It is no surprise to any observer of American life that the image of the perfect woman, the values and norms revolving about the female role, and the very participation of women in the professions are contradictory, ambiguous, and sources of personal strain.⁷⁰

Disregarding the negativity encountered by the female elective, women's representation is important, in fact, it matters very much. And the author continues:

First, a government that is democratically organized cannot be truly legitimate if all its citizens from all races and classes and both sexes do not have a potential interest in and opportunity for serving their community and nation. Second, if all citizens are seen to have an equal opportunity to participate in the decision making that affects their lives, there is a greater likelihood that the polity will be stable and that citizens will have a reasonable degree of trust in and support for it. Third, women constitute a large pool of talented leaders, and their abilities, points of view, and ideas

⁷⁰ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, *Women's Place: Options and Limits on Professional Careers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, Ltd., 1973), 19.

can only be utilized by a society that selects its leaders from among both men and women.⁷¹

Women have made many gains over the course of history, but continue to be underrepresented in political office. This underrepresentation is contributed to the many barriers women encounter in their participation. These barriers in the not so distant past include discrimination by party elite, difficulty in fund-raising, and perceptions as credible candidates by the media and by voters.

However, some suggest that such discriminatory actions have greatly contracted.

The author writes:

As Georgia Duerst-lahti discusses, women may once have lost their elections more often than their male counterparts, but that is not the case today. When factors such as party and incumbency status are taken into account, the evidence is clear that women win races as often as men. Hence, when women decide to present themselves to the public as candidates for local, state, and national offices, their chances of winning are as good (and sometimes better) than those of men.⁷²

Part of the reason female candidates are more competitive with their male counterparts today is the rise of entrepreneurialship amongst women and additional fundraising resources.

Two women whom have served as the Trailblazers for present day female electives include Shirley Anita St. Hill Chisholm and Yvonne Brathwaite Burke. "Shirley Chishlom, born Shirley Anita St. Hill, was born to a poor, working-class immigrant couple in Brooklyn, New York, on November 30, 1924. She was the eldest of four

⁷¹ Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1.

girls.”⁷³ “Her parents instilled a respect for education, a strong religious foundation, and a Marcus Garvey nationalism into the early lessons of their children. Become young ladies—poised, modest, accomplished, educated, and graceful and prepare to take your place in the world”, Ruby Seale told her four young daughters.”⁷⁴

Despite the strong stern foundation established by her parents, she was rather rebellious for her time. “Although she was not allowed to date or listen to popular music, she would allow young men to walk her home from school and play jazz music on the piano”.⁷⁵ The strong foundation from her parents helped to shape the future political career of Chisholm. She began her political career as an assemblywoman for the New York State legislature from 1964-1968 and went on with other African American women to form the Congressional Black Caucus in 1970. She then served in the U.S House of Representatives from 1969-1982. Chisholm was the first African American woman elected to Congress. She represented a new era, not only for blacks, but also for women. Hence, through all of her accomplishments, she went on to become the most nationally known member of Congress. The author continues:

In the 1950's, a time when few women held political office at any level, Chisholm fought her way through the labyrinth of New York's club politics. In the 1960s, she did battle with the New York State Assembly. In the 1970s, she took on the U.S Congress and presidential politics, finally bowing out of politics gracefully in the 1980s. In all, it had been nothing short of a spectacular career that awakened America to what it meant to be

⁷² LaVerne McCain Gill, *African American Women in Congress: Forming and Transforming History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 18.

⁷³ Ibid., 18-19

⁷⁴ Ibid., 18

⁷⁵ Ibid., 19

a black, female, and in Chisholm's own words, "unbought and unbossed", in the political arena.

She showed that candor and political courage were possible even for black women, who were late to arrive in congressional politics. By doing so, she set the tone and the pace for the women who would follow in her footsteps. This black woman refused to be marginalized or constrained by the odds. Three Years after her historic 1969 swearing-in ceremony as New York's Twelfth Congressional District representative, Shirley Chisholm launched an unprecedented bid for the United States presidency. She was symbolic of the "new politics" that introduced into mainstream political parties more women, blacks, and young people than ever before.⁷⁶

Recently, Chisholm dampened the hopes of many of her followers, when she decided not to accept President Clinton's 1993 nomination to become the ambassador to Jamaica. It also ended a political career that had challenged, inspired, and empowered a whole generation of women to run for public office.

Yvonne Brathwaite Burke was the first African American woman elected to Congress from California. She was a unique leader, a woman with a comfortable and respected place in the traditional Democratic Party, as well as in the nontraditional black empowerment movement of the 1970s. Perhaps because of her ability to intertwine the world of black activism with an established party, she stood out, demanded, and received considerable respect across the board.

"Burke was born Perle Yvonne Watson in Los Angeles on October 5, 1932, to James A. Watson and Lola Moore Watson, Burke had a loving home environment that contrasted with hostile segregated school experiences."⁷⁷ The difficulty she endured

⁷⁶ Ibid., 17-18

⁷⁷ Ibid., 58-59

helped to nurture and shape her dreams, which led to goals far above her immediate surroundings. Burke was admitted to the California bar in 1956, and served as an attorney from 1956-1965. She began her political career in 1967, in which she served as an Assemblywoman of the California General Assembly from 1967-1972. "After six years of service, however, she became impatient with the slow movement of the legislative wheels in the state assembly. Her ambitions were in the direction of Washington and the Congress".⁷⁸ She then served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1973-1979.

Burke went on to marry William Arthur Burke in 1972. The two became an early example of the two-career, professional couple. When the couple decided to have a family, Burke was unprepared for the reaction of the public. Gill explains:

Although Burke was ready for the new addition to her family, she was not prepared for the response she received from the public. She did not know that there had never been another woman to become pregnant while in Congress, so she was unprepared for the reaction. The reality was that in the 1970's, forty-year-old women were not having babies in large numbers, and certainly not a congresswoman.⁷⁹

Despite the reaction of the public, her pregnancy was a significant accomplishment for women across the nation. No woman had ever been pregnant in Congress, nor granted maternity leave. The author adds:

On November 23, 1973, she became the first woman in Congress to be granted maternity leave by the speaker of the house. Given the history of prohibition on pregnant women in public positions, Burke's decision to violate the norm was a significant step.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Ibid., 61.

⁷⁹ LaVerne McCain Gill, *African American Women in Congress: Forming and Transforming History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 63.

While Burke was very successful in her career, it was greatly affected by having a child and consequently she decided to leave.

A present female elective that has benefited from the Trailblazers is Cynthia Ann McKinney. McKinney's father (state senator Billy McKinney) had a tremendous influence on her political life and aspirations. Her political career began in 1984, where she served as a diplomatic fellow at Spelman College. In 1988, she became a representative for the Georgia House of Representatives, after a failed attempt at the 1986 Georgia state legislature. McKinney served as a representative of Georgia from 1988-1992. "In 1993, she went on to become the first and the youngest African American woman elected from the state of Georgia, to enter into the class of the 103rd Congress.

Although she benefited from the political struggles of early Trailblazers, her political career came not without struggle. Despite the belief that the Eleventh Congressional District was virtually created for her, three years latter, it was stanchd from her grips on June 29, 1995, when the U.S. Supreme Court declared her congressional district unconstitutional. Gill narrates:

McKinney's losing battle to save her congressional seat began on January 13, 1994, a year into her first term in the U.S. House of Representatives, when the white voters filed their gerrymandering lawsuit. That year, she joined other black members of her freshman class from North Carolina, Louisiana, Texas, and Florida who faced similar challenges. The protracted court battle would rack up millions of dollars in legal fees—drawing on dwindling resources of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and private finances in an effort to combat the well-funded conservative legal organizations supporting the white litigants.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Ibid., 59.

⁸¹ Ibid., 195

McKinney, as a former representative in the Georgia legislature and member of its reapportionment Committee, knew all too well that redistricting was nothing other than a preferential system for determining who controlled the states politics. Thus, McKinney was the first casualty of the new attack on minority representation in Congress. This was just a reminder to her, that despite the efforts of those that paved the way for her, she was still being judged by her race and gender.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY

Politics is what makes a country evolve and maintain its status amongst the power struggle of neighboring countries. Therefore, it is not surprising that men dominate the field. Although women have been systematically alienated from this field, via agents of socialization, some still managed to beat the odds.

These agents of socialization influence the child very early in life, and continue throughout adulthood. They include the family, the school, religious institutions, peer groups, the mass media, and occupation, class and status. Each has a different, but profound effect on the child, which all work together to create the political self. The political self changes as an individual grows and encounters different experiences in life.

The family however, is the initial agent of socialization and begins influencing the child almost immediately after birth. Because the family already has an idea how the child will behave before it is even born because society even now has preconceived notions of how each gender should behave. In other words, the basic expectation of an individual is mapped out before one takes his or her first breath.

The school helps to reinforce these values, standards and morals by courses offered to girls and boys. The courses offered to boys help to foster masculinity, while courses targeting girls help to foster femininity.

Religious institutions aid in reinforcing masculine and feminine attributes through

religious teachings of men and women's societal roles. The woman is portrayed as meek, passive and submissive. Yet, the man is portrayed as the head, the ruler, and ambitious. The present day church remains a patriarchal spiritual center and maintains a woman's status as lower than a man's.

Peer groups remain an important part of life, because it is here one learns association. Peer groups include childhood playgroups, cliques, fraternities and sororities, work groups and community groups. Belonging or interacting with any of these groups have a profound effect on the decisions an individual makes throughout life. Although the peer group may change, the impression or impact remains the same. An individual does something that goes along with the group associated with, just because it is what the group is doing and he/she want to belong. The individual modifies his or her interests and behavior to reflect those of the group in an effort to be accepted by its members.

The mass media, more specifically television, is an agent of socialization because it aids in the impression of an individual. Television distorts the perception of an individual, then broadcasts it for the entire world to see. For the child, this is an unfair disadvantage because their young minds are unable to decipher truth from fiction, which is really unfortunate since television is popular baby-sitter now a days.

The occupation, class, and status of an individual are agents of socialization because, they act upon the individual much like a peer group. For example, depending on an individual's occupation, class, and status, one would be exposed to certain information that has an impact on certain views. Hence, if an individual's job involves politics, he or she would likely be more politically aware or active. It works in much a similar manner with class and status. This is because class and status brings about exposure to certain

things others are less likely to come in contact with, from lower classes or status rankings.

Agents of political socialization have had a significant effect on the political participation of women, via negative or positive. In spite of the effect agents of political socialization have on women, they have helped mold, shape and publicize the roads taken to political success for past, present and future female electives.

CONCLUSION

Agents of political socialization have an impact on how and to what extent women participate in the American Political Process. These agents include the family, the school, peer groups, religious institutions, the media, and occupation, class and status. Political Socialization begins almost immediately after birth and influences the political self throughout life. The family serves as the initial agent of political socialization, where children learn societal roles, moral values and standards established by society. These attributes instilled by the family, are reinforced by the school, religious institutions and other agents of political socialization. These agents reflect the ideals and standards established by society. They also reveal that a different set of rules exist for male and female members of society, based on predetermined masculine and feminine guidelines.

Despite these guidelines, some women have stepped outside the boundaries of femininity. These women represent the Trailblazers of the American Political Process. They include, but are not limited to Shirley Chisholm and Yvonne Brathwaite Burke. They helped pave the way for present day female electives, such as Representative Cynthia McKinney and others. They represent the vivid truth that women have always been politically active in American society, yet were denied adequate recognition of their work.

The traditional views of women provide a strong representation of patriarchal dominance. Women were portrayed as mere objects, property of their husbands,

and nurturer to the children. Accordingly, all societies define sex roles from their images and ideas of the ideal man or woman within their society. Therefore, in no way can any man or woman not be affected by these societal standards, because everyone is measured by them. "Preferred female attributes and behavior vary universally over a considerable range".⁸² Some societies view women according to their occupations and a combination of other aspects to define their womanhood, much like American society. The author reveals:

Since the female and professional role-configurations are painted by this society as mutually exclusive rather than overlapping or concurrent, most American women feel they must choose between them. Those who attempt to combine them must deal with many strains... Women who work in male-dominated occupations in particular are often thought to be sexless. The woman who takes her work seriously the career woman traditionally has been viewed as the antithesis of the feminine woman.⁸³

Consequently, both men and women ostracize them for their career choices. One would think women would support other women, yet more negativity comes from them. This reaction is too linked to socialization. The author adds:

Female role models that incorporate the attributes of independence, objectivity, and assertiveness and thereby violate society's common image of femininity repel many men and women. Helen Hacker's study of working women documents the ambivalence and disapproval facing the women that displays 'male' virtues. Negative feelings may attach to her own interests to the detriment of her family. Thus, while "ambitious" is a positive attribute for men, there is some question if a woman is complimented when she is called ambitious.⁸⁴

⁸² Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 21.

⁸³ Ibid., 23.

⁸⁴ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, *Woman's Place: Options and Limits in Professional Careers* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 24.

In modern times, when many women are single, divorced, or widowed, society should be more accepting of independent women. In addition, modern society is more expensive and two incomes are the rule, rather than the exception. However, society continues to lash out at these women and their high profile lifestyles, blaming them for the deterioration of the family. Yet, society seems blind to the fact that fathers with high profile occupations are out of the home on a regular basis, for extended lengths of time. Yet, modern society applauds them for working hard and apparently being excellent providers for their family. Epstein discloses:

In modern societies, the favored norms and images are channeled and transmitted by the popular media as well as by the traditional channels of personal influence and exposure. Films, televisions, and popular magazines stress the romance that leads to marriage and then children. Betty Friedan's survey of ten years of fiction in popular women's magazines finds that the working women in the stories are usually pictured as frustrated and unhappy until they find the "right man" and retire to homemaking.⁸⁵

Although times have changed, women are still being socialized to be domesticated beings. Therefore, those that choose to go against the norm are scrutinized by society. Because of this fear of being blackballed, many choose to stay within the realms of societal standards. In doing so, leads to the lack of support of other women and a delay in the awareness of women's issues. Socialization is linked to many attributes of society in such a well-camouflaged manner, that it often goes unnoticed. Although

⁸⁵Ibid., 30.

women tend to out vote men, socialization inhibits them from targeting women's issues with their votes. Many of these women tend to vote in harmony with their husbands or significant others, consequently denying themselves adequate representation. A perfect example of this is the recent lost of Mayoral Candidate (Atlanta) Gloria Tinubu. Although she had a late start on her campaign, she still managed to pull a significant number of votes. Just imagine what could have happened if she had received support from more women.

What these results have proven is that women are scrutinized by society when the status quo is challenged. Not only do men, but women scrutinize them as well. In virtually every case, there lacks sufficient evidence to back up these claims of the second sex. Furthermore, the arrangement of natural order falls short of the mark, because education is the key. If equally educated with men, women could be just as capable of mastering the political realm of society. In addition, rearing a family is just as much the responsibility of the father, as it is the mother. The mere aspect of childbearing is insufficient evidence for excluding women from politics, and gender should not be a requirement. What it all boils down to is who can do a better job at representing the desires of the people and get to job done.

Although feminist movements highlighted the desire of women to gain the privilege to the franchise, women participated in ways other than the ballot quite some time before the struggle for enfranchisement began. This participatory activity included attending rallies, soliciting funds to help organize campaigns, spearheading demonstrations, and even rebellions.

Presently, women are receiving more notoriety for their political involvement, yet it remains unequivocal to that of men. However, with the constant increase of political activism of some women and the continued enforcement of the Voting Right Act of 1965, women (black) are more likely to be elected to public office. Hence, continue to make political advancements, if their constituents continue to look at their goal of bringing goods and services to their districts. In addition, women are more likely to remain vivid participants in politics if men believing in political equality of the sexes continue to change the patriarchal views of the masses.

APPENDIX A

African Americans in the U.S. Congress, 1870-1996

	Party/State	Congress (es)	Term(s)*
Senators			
Hiram R. Revels (1827-1901)	R-Miss.	41 st	1870-1871
Blanche K. Bruce (1841-1898)	R-Miss.	44 th -46 th	1875-1881
Edward W. Brooke (1919-)	R-Mass.	90 th -95 th	1967-1978
Carol Moseley-Braun (1947-)	D-Ill.	103 rd -	1993-
Representatives			
Joseph H. Rainey (1832-1887)	R-S.C.	41 st -45 th	1870-1879
Jefferson F. Long (1836-1887)	R-Ga.	41 st	1870-1871
Robert B. Elliot (1842-1884)	R-S.C.	42 nd -43 rd	1871-1874
Robert C. DeLarge (1842-1874)	R-S.C.	42 nd	1871-1873
Benjamin S. Turner (1825-1887)	R-Ala.	42 nd	1871-1873
Josiah T. Walls (1842-1905)	R-Fla.	42 nd -44 th	1871-1876

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

	Party/State	Congress (es)	Term(s)*
Richard H. Cain (1825-1887)	R-S.C.	43 rd 45 th	1873-1875 1877-1879
John R. Lynch (1846-1939)	R-Miss.	43 rd -44 th , 47 th	1873-1877 1883-1883
James T. Rapier (1837-1883)	R-Ala.	43 rd	1873-1875
Alonzo J. Ransier (1834-1882)	R-S.C.	43 rd	1873-1875
Jeremiah Haralson (1846-1916)	R-Ala.	44 th	1875-1877
John A. Hyman (1840-1891)	R-N.C.	44 th	1875-1877
Charles E. Nash (1844-1913)	R-La.	44 th	1875-1877
Robert Smalls (1839-1915)	R-S.C.	44 th -45 th , 47 th -49 th	1875-1879 1882-1887
James E. O'Hara (1844-1905)	R-N.C.	48 th -49 th	1883-1887
Henry P. Cheatham (1857-1935)	R-N.C.	51 st -52 nd	1889-1893
John M. Langston (1829-1897)	R-Va.	51 st	1890-1891
Thomas E. Miller (1849-1936)	R-S.C.	51 st	1890-1891
George W. Murray (1853-1926)	R-S.C.	53 rd -54 th	1893-1897

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

	Party/State	Congress (es)	Term(s)*
George H. White (1852-1918)	R-N.C.	55 th -56 th	1897-1901
Oscar DePriest (1871-1951)	R-Ill.	71 st -73 rd	1929-1935
Arthur W. Mitchell (1883-1968)	D-Ill.	74 th -77 th	1935-1942
William L. Dawson (1886-1970)	D-Ill.	78 th -91 st	1943-1970
Adam C. Powell, Jr. (1908-1972)	D-N.Y.	79 th -89 th , 91 st	1945-1967 1969-1971
Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (1922-)	D-Mich.	84 th -96 th	1955-1980
Robert N. C. Nix (1905-1987)	D-Pa.	85 th -95 th	1958-1978
Augustus F. Hawkins (1907-)	D-Calif.	88 th -101 st	1963-1990
John Conyers, Jr. (1929-)	D-Mich.	89 th -	1965-
William L. Clay (1931-)	D-Mo.	91 st -	1969-
Louis Stokes (1925-)	D-Ohio	91 st -	1969-
Shirley A. Chisholm (1924-)	D-N.Y.	91 st -97 th	1969-1982
George Collins (1926-1972)	D-Ill.	91 st -92 nd	1969-1972

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

	Party/State	Congress (es)	Term(s)*
Ronald V. Dellums (1935-)	D-Calif.	92 nd -	1971-
Ralph H. Metcalfe (1910-1978)	D-Ill.	92 nd -95 th	1971-1978
Parren Mitchell (1922-)	D-Md.	92 nd -99 th	1971-1986
Charles B. Rangel (1929-)	D-N.Y.	92 nd -	1971-
Walter E. Fauntroy (1933-)	D-D.C.	92 nd -101 st	1971-1990
Yvonne B. Burke (1932-)	D-D.C.	92 nd -101 st	1971-1990
Cardiss Collins (1929-)	D-Ill.	93 rd -104 th	1973-1996
Barbara Jordan (1936-1996)	D-Tex.	93 rd -95 th	1973-1978
Andrew J. Young (1932-)	D-Ga.	93 rd -95 th	1973-1977
Harold E. Ford (1945-)	D-Tenn.	94 th -104 th	1975-1996
Bennett M. Stewart (1915-)	D-Ill.	96 th	1979-1980
Julian C. Dixon (1929-)	D-Calif.	96 th	1979-1980
William H. Gray, III (1941-)	D-Pa.	96 th -102 nd	1979-1992

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

	Party/State	Congress (es)	Term(s)*
George T. (Mickey) Leland (1944-1989)	D-Tex.	96 th -101 st	1979-1989
Melvyn Evans (1917-1984)	R-V.I.	96 th	1979-1980
George Crockett, Jr. (1909-)	D-Mich.	96 th -101 st	1980-1990
Mervyn M. Dymally (1925-)	D-Calif.	97 th -102 nd	1981-1992
Gus Savage (1925-)	D-Ill.	97 th -102 nd	1981-1983
Harold Washington (1922-1987)	D-Ill	97 th -98 th	1981-1983
Katie B. Hall (1938-)	D-Ind.	97 th -98 th	1982-1984
Major R. Owens (1936-)	D-N.Y.	98 th -	1983-
Edolphus Towns (1934-)	D-N.Y.	98 th -	1983-
Alan Wheat (1951-)	D-Mo.	98 th -103 rd	1983-1994
Charles A. Hayes (1918-)	D-Ill.	98 th -102 nd	1983-1992
Alton R. Waldon, Jr. (1936-)	D-N.Y.	99 th	1986-1987
Mike Espy (1953-)	D-Miss.	100 th -103 rd	1987-1993

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

	Party/State	Congress (es)	Term(s)*
Floyd H. Flake (1945-)	D-N.Y.	100 th -	1987-
John Lewis (1938-)	D-Ga.	100 th -	1987
Kweisi Mfume (1948-)	D-Md.	100 th -104 th	1978-1996
Donald M. Payne (1929-)	D-N.J.	101 st -	1989-1996
Craig A. Washington (1941-)	D-Tex.	101 st -103 rd	1989-1994
Lucien E. Blackwell (1931-)	D-Pa.	102 nd -104 th	1991-
Barbara-Rose Collins (1939-)	D-Mich	102 nd -104 th	1991-1996
Gary A. Franks (1953-)	R-Conn.	102 nd -	1991-
William J. Jefferson (1947-)	D. La.	102 nd	1991-
Eleanor Holmes Norton (1937-)	D-D.C.	102 nd -	1991-
Maxine Waters (1938-)	D-Calif.	102 nd -	1991-
Sanford D. Bishop, Jr. (1947-)	D-Ga.	103 rd -	1993-
Corrine Brown (1945-)	D-Fla.	103 rd -	1993-

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

	Party/State	Congress (es)	Term(s)*
Eva M. Clayton (1933-)	D-N.C.	103 rd -	1993-
James E. Clyburn (1940-)	D-S.C.	103 rd -	1993-
Cleo Fields (1962-)	D-La.	103 rd -104 th	1993-1996
Alcee L. Hastings (1936-)	D-Fla.	103 rd -	1993-
Earl F. Hilliard (1942-)	D-Ala.	103 rd -	1993-
Eddie Bernice Johnson (1935-)	D-Tex.	103 rd -	1993-
Cynthia A. McKinney (1955-)	D-Ga.	103 rd -	1993-
Carrie Meek (1926-)	D-Fla.	103 rd -	1993-
Mel Reynolds (1952-)	D-Ill.	103 rd -104 th	1993-1995 (Resigned)
Bobby L. Rush (1946-)	D-Ill.	103 rd -	1993-
Robert C. Scott (1947-)	D-Va.	103 rd -	1993-
Bennie G. Thompson (1947-)	D-Miss.	103 rd -	1993-
Walter R. Tucker, III (1957-)	D-Calif.	103 rd -104 th	1993-1995 (Resigned)

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

	Party/State	Congress (es)	Term(s)*
Melvin Watt (1945-)	D-N.C.	103 rd -	1993-
Albert R. Wynn (1951-)	D-Md.	103 rd -	1993-
Sheila Jackson-Lee (1950-)	D-Tex.	104 th -	1995-
Chaka Fattah (1955-)	D-Pa.	104 th	1995-
Julius Caesar (J.C.) Watts (1955-)	R-Okla.	104 th -	1995-
Jesse Jackson, Jr. (1965-)	D-Ill.	104 th -	1995-

Source: Congressional Black Caucus Foundation and Congressional Research Service.

*Terms as given here are coterminous with the end of the congressional year. Breaks in term for all nineteenth century members are a consequence of contested elections designed to keep African Americans from entering Congress.

APPENDIX B

African American Women in Congress, 1969-1996							
	Age at Swearin g-in	Previous Political Elected Office	Occupa -tion	Earned Degrees	Marital Status upon Entering Congress	Children	Religious Denom- ination
Shirley Chisholm	44	State rep.	Teacher	B.A., M.A.	Married	0	Methodist
Barbara Jordan	36	State senator	Lawyer	B.A., L.L.B.	Single	0	Baptist
Yvonne Burke	40	State rep.	Lawyer	A.A., B.A., J.D.	Married	2	Baptist
Cardiss Collins	41	None	Auditor	None	Widowed	1	Baptist
Katie Beatrice Hall	44	State senator	Teacher	B.S., M.S.	Married	3	Baptist
Eleanor H. Norton	53	None	Lawyer	B.A., M.A., J.D.	Separated	2	Episcop.
Maxine Waters	52	State rep.	Social worker	B.A.	Married	2	Christian
Barbara- Rose Collins	51	State rep., City council	Purchas e clerk	None	Married	2	Pan- African Orthodox
Carol Moseley- Braun	45	State rep.	Lawyer	B.A., J.D.	Widowed	1	Catholic

Source: Data compiled from Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-1994 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1994).

APPENDIX B CONTINUED

Corrine Brown	46	State rep.	College administrator	B.S., M.S.	Divorced	1	Baptist
Carrie Meek	66	State senator, state rep.	College lecturer	B.S., M.S.	Single	3	Baptist
Cynthia McKinney	37	State rep.	Consultant	A.B.	Divorced	1	Catholic
Eva Clayton	58	None	Nurse	B.S., M.S.	Married	4	Presbyter.
Eddie Bernice Johnson	58	State senator, state rep.	lawyer	B.S., M.P.A.	Divorced	1	Baptist
Sheila Jackson-Lee	44	City council		B.A., J.D.	Married	2	Seventh-Day Adventist

Source: Data compiled from Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-1994 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1994).

APPENDIX C

Resume'**Shirley Anita St. Hill Chisholm**

Personal

Born November 30, 1924
Brooklyn, New York

Family Married while in office to Conrad Chisholm (divorced 1977), then
to Authur Hardwick, Jr. (married 1978); no children

Religion Methodist

Party Democrat

Took Office Age 44, January 3, 1969

Education

B.A. Brooklyn College, New York City, 1946
M.A. Columbia University, New York City, 1952

Professional/Political Background

1946-1953 Nursery school teacher, Mt. Calvary Childcare Center, New York
City

1953-1959 Director, Hamilton-Madison Childcare Center, New York City

1959-1964 Educational consultant, Division of Day Care, New York City

1964-1968 Assemblywoman, New York state legislature

1969-1982 U. S. House of Representatives

1983-1984 Lecturer, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts

1984- Lecturer, teacher, political mentor

APPENDIX C CONTINUED

Selected Awards/Organizational Affiliations

Selected Honorary Degrees: Columbia University, Hampton University, LaSalle College, University of Maine, Pratt Institute, Coppin State College, North Carolina College, University of Cincinnati, Smith College.

Honorary member/Board of Directors: Cosmopolitan Young People's Symphony Orchestra, Fund for Research and Education in Sickle Cell Disease.

Awards: Alumna of Year, Brooklyn College, 1957; Outstanding Work in the Field of Child Welfare, Women's Council of Brooklyn, 1957; Key Woman of Year, 1963, Woman of Achievement, Key Women, Inc.; member Delta Sigma Theta Sorority; member, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Congressional Data

Twelfth Congressional District of New York: Brooklyn
Committees: Veterans' Affairs; Education and Labor; Rules; Committee on Organization Study and Review

91st Congress: 1969-1970

1968 general election results: 67 percent of the vote

92nd Congress: 1971-1972

1970 general election results: 82 percent of the vote

93rd Congress: 1973-1974

1972 general election results: 88 percent of the vote

94th Congress: 1975-1976

1974 general election results: 80 percent of the vote

95th Congress: 1977-1978

1976 general election results: 87 percent of the vote

96th Congress: 1979-1980

1978 general election results: 88 percent of the vote

97th Congress: 1981-1982

1980 general election results: 87 percent of the vote

Source: LaVerne McCain Gill, African American Women in Congress: Forming and Transforming History (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), p. 14-15

APPENDIX C CONTINUED

Resume'**Yvonne Brathwaite Burke**

Personal

Born October 5, 1932
 Los Angeles, California

Family Married to William A. Burke; two children

Religion Baptist

Party Democrat

Took Office Age 40, January 3, 1973

Education

A.D. University of California, 1951

B.A. University of California at Los Angeles, 1953

J.D. University of Southern California School of Law, Los Angeles, 1956

Professional/Political Background

1956 Admitted to the California bar

1956-1965 Attorney

1965-1966 Hearing officer for Los Angeles Police Commission

1967-1972 Assemblywoman, California General Assembly

1973-1979 U.S. House of Representatives

1979- Supervisor, Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors

1981-1983 Partner, Law firm Kutak, Rock and Huie

1984-1987 Partner, Law firm Burke, Robinson and Pearman

1987- Partner, Law firm Jones, Day, Reavis and Pogue

Selected Awards/Organizational Affiliations

Loren Miller Award, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People;
 fellow, Institute of Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government (Harvard);
 Chubb Fellow, Yale University; president, National Coalition of 100 Black Women;

APPENDIX C CONTINUED

Los Angeles vice chair, University of California Board of Regents; member, Ford Foundation Board of Trustees; delegate and vice chair, Democratic National Convention 1972.

Congressional Data

Thirty-seventh Congressional District of California: Watts and other parts of Los Angeles
Committees: Interior and Insular Affairs; Public Works and Transportation; Appropriations

93rd Congress: 1973-1974

1972 general election results: 60 percent of the vote

94th Congress: 1975-1976

1974 general election results: 80 percent of the vote

95th Congress: 1977-1978

1976 general election results: 80 percent of the vote

Source: LaVerne McCain Gill, African American Women in Congress: Forming and Transforming History (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), p. 56-57

APPENDIX C CONTINUED

Resume'

Cynthia Ann McKinney

Personal

Born March 17, 1955
Atlanta, Georgia

Family Divorced; one child

Religion Catholic

Party Democrat

Took Office Age 37, January 5, 1993

Education

A.B. University of Southern California, 1978

Professional/ Political Background

1984-1985 Diplomatic fellow, Spelman College
1985-1988 Instructor, Clark Atlanta University and Agnes Scott College
1988-1992 Representative, Georgia House of Representatives
1993- U.S. House of Representatives

Selected Awards/Organizational Affiliations

Metro Atlanta HIV Health Services Planning Council; National Council of Negro Women; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Sierra Club; freshman class secretary, 103rd Congress.

Congressional Data

Eleventh Congressional District, Georgia: parts of DeKalb, Burke, and Butts Counties
Committees: Agriculture; International Relations

103rd Congress: 1993-1994
1992 general election results: 73 percent of the vote

APPENDIX C CONTINUED

104th Congress: 1995-1996

1994 general election results: 66 percent of the vote

Source: LaVerne McCain Gill, African American Women in Congress: Forming and Transforming History (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), p. 192

APPENDIX D
Voter Registration

Year	Number Reporting They are Registered Voters	
	Women	Men
1996	67.9 million	59.6 million
1994	62.7 million	55.3 million
1992	67.3 million	59.3 million
1990	60.2 million	53.0 million
1988	63.4 million	55.1 million
1986	59.5 million	52.2 million
1984	62.1 million	54.0 million

Source: Center for the American Women and Politics (CWPA), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, Sex Differences in Voter Turnout (New Brunswick, NJ: 1997) available from [http:// www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html](http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html), accessed 2 December 1998.

APPENDIX E
Women of Color in Elective Office 1998
Congresswomen

African American (13)		
Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun	Democrat	IL
Rep. Corrine Brown	Democrat	FL
Rep. Julia M. Carson	Democrat	IN
Rep. Eva Clayton	Democrat	NC
Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson	Democrat	TX
Rep. Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick	Democrat	MI
Rep. Barbara Lee	Democrat	CA
Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee	Democrat	TX
Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald	Democrat	CA
Rep. Cynthia McKinney	Democrat	GA
Rep. Carrie Meek	Democrat	FL
Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton	Democrat	DC
Rep. Maxine Waters	Democrat	CA
Caribbean American (1)		
Del. Donna Christian-Green	Democrat	VI
Asian American/Pacific Islander (1)		
Rep. Patsy Takemoto Mink	Democrat	HI
Latino (4)		
Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	Republican	FL
Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard	Democrat	CA
Rep. Loretta Sanchez	Democrat	CA
Rep. Nydia Velazquez	Democrat	NY

Source: Center for the American Women and Politics (CWP), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, Sex Differences in Voter Turnout (New Brunswick, NJ: 1997) available from [http:// www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html](http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html), accessed 2 December 1998.

APPENDIX E CONTINUED
Statewide Elective Executives

African American (1)			
Vikki Buckley	Republican	CO	Secretary of State
Asian American /Pacific Islander (1)			
Mazie K. Hirono	Democrat	HI	Lieutenant Governor
Latino (1)			
Stephanie Gonzales	Democrat	NM	Secretary of State

Source: Center for the American Women and Politics (CWP), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, Sex Differences in Voter Turnout (New Brunswick, NJ: 1997) available from [http:// www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html](http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html), accessed 2 December 1998.

States with the Highest Percentage of Women Legislators

State	% of Women
Washington	39.5
Colorado	37.0
Arizona	36.7
Nevada	33.3
Vermont	33.3
Minnesota	31.3
New Hampshire	30.9
Maryland	29.8
Kansas	29.7
Connecticut	28.9

Source: Center for the American Women and Politics (CWP), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, Sex Differences in Voter Turnout (New Brunswick, NJ: 1997) available from [http:// www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html](http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html), accessed 2 December 1998.

APPENDIX E CONTINUED

Women serving Nationwide Cities with Populations Over 10, 000

Level of Office	1977	1979	1981	1983	1985	1987	1989	1991	1993	1995	1997	1998
U.S. Congress	4%	3%	4%	4%	5%	5%	5%	6%	10%	10%	11%	12%
Statewide Elective	10%	11%	11%	11%	14%	14%	14%	18%	22%	26%	26%	26%
State Legislatures	9%	10%	12%	13%	15%	16%	17%	18%	21%	21%	22%	22%

Source: Center for the American Women and Politics (CWPA), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, Sex Differences in Voter Turnout (New Brunswick, NJ: 1997) available from [http:// www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html](http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/sexdiff.html), accessed 2 December 1998.

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